/107 cont./

123 knew tales he could tell, and to whom we gave tobacco and salt and a few other small gifts, a knife, a hoe, or an aluminum cup. At the moment he had a headache, he said. I gave him a few tablets, and we agreed that I would come back the next morning and he would tell me a few tales. When we arrived the next day, after hours of tramping, his wife told us that her husband had gone into the mountains very early that morning in order to cut wood.

115 Our first visit in Calderas took place in the company of the interpreter, Marcos Antonio Penkue, a Paez about 40 years old from San Andrés, who regarded himself as very civilized and who had reached a certain position of wealth. He served as a [191] soldier on the Brazilian border and speaks Spanish well. On his [245] finca /see the glossary, p. 249 / he has about 2,000 coffee trees, [439] whose yield he sells in Inzá on the market. He also carries on [464] other business there by functioning as an interpreter and middleman for the non-Spanish-speaking and generally unbusinesslike Paez. During our work in Calderas he combined business with his services. [233] The Paez are ardent cattle-raisers, albeit not in our economic sense, but purely for sport and the pleasure of numbers. A cow-calf is much more valuable to them than a full-grown bull, for [437] it will produce another calf and increase the herd. Thus, Marcos Antonio exchanged calves for bulls in Calderas and, indeed, bought [434] some cattle himself. These business transactions bring him about 200 to 250 pesos profit per head, since among themselves the Paez ask only low prices, about 50 pesos for a bull. His selling price on the market in Inzá amounts to about 300 pesos. He regarded the work with us as highly troublesome, but he knew what he was worth to us. His fee rose from three pesos a day at the beginning to ten pesos. Translations that seemed to him too complicated or explanations that were too long for him he would give "in essence" in a few words, after which my counterquestions obviously annoyed him. One day when I had planned some important work, but he some important business, he hid our horses and calmly let us look for them all day long, while he, under the pretext of searching for the horses, carried on his business until he "found" them in the evening.

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/130 cont./

249 three years is very long. Shoots from old sugar-cane plants are used as slips, which are set out by the men in the same way as the maize kernels. A hole is made in the ground with the digging stick at one-meter intervals in every direction from the neighboring plant; the slip is stuck into it and pressed firmly with [462] the hands. The cane is harvested by men or women. Both know [482] how to handle the machete. The men carry the sugar cane home over their shoulders (Ill. 173 /see p.277 /), women stuff the sugar cane into the fiber bags and hang them over their backs, holding the carrying band with their foreheads.

244 Besides maize and sugar cane, the bean (ōs) is of great im- [262] portance for the Paez diet. There are the large, speckled so-called "sow beans" /broad beans/ (Spanish frijol) and the smaller, white beans. /131/ The former are for the most part eaten, whereas the white beans are usually sold. They are sowed either in the vicinity of the house at the foot of trees and shrubs, with three beans always stuck into the ground at a time, or together with maize. In this case, during the maize sowing, three to four beans are put in the same hole with the six to eight maize kernels. In growing simultaneously the beans climb up the maize stalks.

243 Wheat (skótc) is not of importance in the diet of the Paez, [262] for no bread is baked. Nevertheless it is very often planted because it grows fast and thus represents a suitable item for the Paez to sell. 243 If anyone has to buy something, be it fabric for a pair of trousers, ● 434 a machete, a metal pot, etc., he sows wheat, usually in March/ April, and after half a year he can already pocket profit from the sale. It is characteristic of the Paez, however, that they make use of this only when they need something urgently, but not in 243 advance so as to have money on hand in any case. The preperation for wheat sowing is done in the customary manner of clearing by burning. The sower hangs around himself a fiber bag containing the seed grain and, in exactly the same fashion as our sower, starts to broadcast the wheat with his hand in a wide arc. Subsequently the ground is superficially turned over with the shovel, so that the birds cannot pick up the grains. In harvesting it a bundle of stalks is grasped a good hand's breadth under the ears and cut off with the

/303 cont./

241 relatively recent times, has fertile and humid soils. The harvests
433 are large and of excellent quality. It produces profitable yields.
244 The real production of Mosoco potatoes is there. They them-
[492] selves designate it as the principal harvest. During the months of April and May, when the potatoes are being harvested, numerous droves of pack animals carry the produce daily to the market
[435] in Silvia. The profits from this crop are dependable. The cultivators state that even selling at four pesos per arroba it gives a profit. Normally an arroba of potatoes is quoted at six or seven pesos. The planting of potatoes in the paramo begins in October, is intensified in November and December, and the last is done in January. They take advantage of the mildness of the climate
[132] at this time. During the months of June, July, and August the
[484] winter is harsh, with intense cold and hurricane winds. Crossing the paramos at this time is quite perilous.

241 In San José, La Troja, El Cabuyo, El Cuartel, Lame, and
433 Vitoncó, during the first four months of the year, wheat, barley, maize, frijoles, broad beans, and peaches are harvested.

Toward the months of October, November, and December, harvesting is done in Suin, Chinas, Calderas, San Andrés, Togoima, Santa Rosa, and Mosoco itself and consists principally of Maize, frijoles, ullucos, potatoes, and coffee. They constitute what we might /304/ call the second harvests of the year in Tierradentro. The planting begins after Ash Wednesday (March approximately) and is intensified in the months of April and May.
244 The last is done in July. The potato seed planted at about this
433 time in Mosoco comes from the harvest in the "paramo." This is a secondary planting of scant yield. It usually results in losses, but the Mosoco cultivators plant with the aim of preserving the seed. It is interesting to note that the sole agricultural activity of one trader based in Mosoco is the planting of potatoes in the
[434] paramo. He dispenses with the July sowing altogether. He prefers to buy the seed in Silvia, he pays the entire labor force, and in spite of these investments, which are high, he gets a good profit.

/310 cont./

243 As may be noted, the magical practices of the té eu are
756 absent, although there still exists that of the eating, which in
789 other parcialidades complements his practices.

249 The cultivation of sugar cane is quite widespread in the
273 temperate thermal level, although the plantings are not extensive and are not pursued for commercial purposes; they serve only for obtaining guarapo (fermented cane juice) for individual and collective labor and for social affairs. Guarapo is an essential part of the domestic economy, in the same manner
249 as coca. It is not produced for public pay. Each house has its
257 sugar mill, either outside or in its interior, but there are no ovens or other accessories for producing panela. The latter industry belongs exclusively to the white or mestizo people.

249 The cultivation of the cane requires three weedings before the first cutting. Three cuttings with good results are generally obtained from each planting.

245 The cultivation of coffee is also very widespread. Its expansion is of recent date, but it already has strong and universal acceptance, like cane and plantains. The method of cultivation suffers from certain deficiencies: the shade is insufficient and inadequate; there is no pruning; the care is not very satis-
[433] factory; many do not have pulping machines. The coffee
245 plantings produce several arrobas per year. The monetary in-
434 come of the natives in the temperate zone is provided basically by
[439] coffee. They sell it to steady and familiar customers for prices
[452] that are usually low. The coffee plantings secure credit for the natives; they often collect money or merchandise against a future
245 harvest. Coffee has permitted them /311/ to acquire dishes, to
434 modify their clothing, to enrich their agricultural equipment,
177 to buy every once in a while the drugs of the "whites." At harvest time they eat meat regularly, and they are also able to pay wages for the improvement of their fincas. But, above all,
[273] it opens the doors of the liquor stores to them. They consume considerable amounts of alcoholic beverages. They have not yet learned to make good use of their monetary income.

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Fams.	Coca				Frijoles			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	20,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	(8)	3	3	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	(8)	8	8	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	(8)	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
12.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
13.	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	80,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

8. Owns plantings of coca.

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From the above table we can make the following deductions:

[245]
[434]
[439]

1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale. It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."

2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.

[262]
[276]
[273]

3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize, plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably complement this dietary regimen.

/357 cont./

261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification. When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas, and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe at great length the incidents as they unfold.

178 But, in spite of the fact that the work capacity of the in-
241 dividual is acknowledged, that the possession of domestic animals
433 lends a certain prestige within the group, and that the abundance
[554] of food and guarapo brings gratification, the agricultural cycle
[231] remains stationary within the lineaments of time, of the systems of labor, and of the quantity of seed. They produce essentially
178 for consumption. The stimulation of prestige does not exist. In
433 many parcialidades, the habits of a capitalistic economy are openly
[754] combated by the sorcerers (32). Nevertheless, we have already

32. Bernal Villa, S. op. cit., p. 256.

had the opportunity to state that the introduction of the cultivation of coffee (temperate zone), the development of livestock-raising and of the cultivation of potatoes in Mosoco, and the creation of settlement areas in the very heart of the native parcialidades are rapidly modifying all of the institutions of Páez culture. The family economy of self-provisioning and of small barter operations is changing perceptibly into a purely money economy. By the same process the routine monotony is disappearing from production and is being replaced by new techniques of work, a greater quantity of production, and a greater volume of trade.

● 434 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés, we
121 made an investigation of familial income and expenses /358/ for
124 the year 1953, on the basis of questionnaires prepared by the Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina of the Ministerio del Trabajo, questionnaires that were filled out by us for the said commission with reference to Tierradentro.

/358 cont./

434 [121] There were 48 families investigated, of which 25 were from Mosoco, 8 from Lame, and 15 from San Andrés. They are identified by numbers in order.

The sources of monetary income are provided by agriculture, especially by potatoes, wheat, garlic, and coffee; by livestock-raising, that is to say, the sale of animals, including derivatives such as milk and cheeses, as well as barnyard fowl; by business transactions, including the resale of agricultural and livestock products produced by the natives; by daily wages, including some contra[illegible]rk; by crafts, which include manufactures (blankets, rugs, s[illegible]es, pouches, sewing, ceramics, and tile-making) and hydraulic mills; by freightage, that is to say, the profit from renting beasts of burden; by the previous year's savings; and by loans.

At first sight agriculture stands out as the principal source of family income, corresponding specifically to potatoes, wheat, and garlic for Mosoco, laurel wax and potatoes for Lame, and coffee for San Andrés. But in the parcialidad of Mosoco livestock is not merely complementary, but as important as agriculture itself. Even more so. In nine of the 25 families investigated, livestock-raising balances the family budget, which the deficit [427] was due to the loss of harvests. We also observed that the renting of beasts of burden is an important factor in the family income; an incipient development of family industry that represents sources of monetary income; and, finally, the income from daily wages in the parcialidad is rather limited. In the parcialidades of Lame and San Andrés, on the other hand, livestock-raising occupies a secondary position, and the family income is complemented, when agriculture produces an imbalance, chiefly by day labor.

434 563 [439] Trade is primarily an activity of the "whites," and so are industries of elaboration such as panela and cheese. In regard to trade we found one case of a "white" family established in a parcialidad, whose only source of income through life has been nothing but the profits from trade.

/359/

●434 The statistical tables on income which we present below demonstrate to us with numbers the arguments of our guesses, since they permit us to compare the incomes of the families in the three native parcialidades and give us a clear idea of the process of acculturation which is taking place in the parcialidad of Mosoco.

/359 cont./

Family Income

Fams.	Agriculture $	%	Livestock $	%	Trade $	%	Daily Wages $	%	Crafts $	%	Freightage $	%	
1.°	871,00	17,9	760,00	15,6	2.430,00	49,6	.....	.....	230,00	4,3	.....	....	(33)
2.	563,00	79,5	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	85,00	12,0	(34)
3.	122,00	21,0	165,00	17,3	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	(35)
4.	285,00	36,3	500,00	63,6	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
5.	42,50	9,5	35,00	6,9	83,00	16,2	151,00	29,6	.....	....	198,00	37,7	
6.	145,00	13,9	750,00	71,9	.....	....	.....	.....	148,00	14,1	.....	....	
7.	250,00	22,1	700,00	61,9	180,00	15,9	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
8.	90,00	12,6	620,00	87,3	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
9.	399,00	31,3	73,00	5,7	.....	....	.....	.....	500,00	39,3	300,00	23,5	
10.	480,00	59,0	51,00	6,3	.....	....	270,00	33,2	12,00	1,4	.....	....	
11.	94,00	16,3	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	480,00	83,6	
12.	726,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
13.	250,00	23,5	600,00	56,6	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	210,00	19,7	
14.	136,00	11,3	935,00	78,1	.....	....	.....	.....	126,00	10,5	.....	....	
15.	724,00	55,6	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	226,00	16,6	360,00	27,6	
16.	487,00	73,6	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	144,00	26,3	
17.	.....	....	....	....	.....	....	300,00	300,0	.....	....	.....	....	
18.	1.910,00	98,7	....	....	25,00	1,2	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
19.	1.006,00	68,4	500,00	31,5	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
20.	267,00	67,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	300,00	32,9	
21.	438,00	72,5	130,00	22,0	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	32,00	5,4	
22.	298,00	22,6	900,00	68,3	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	226,00	16,6	
23.	366,00	60,3	180,00	29,5	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	60,00	9,8	
24.	166,00	37,2	200,00	44,8	.....	....	.....	.....	30,00	6,7	50,00	11,2	
25.°	1.672,00	34,2	2.690,00	26,7	2.702,00	26,8	.....	.....	300,00	29,8	.....	....	
LAME													
1.°	280,00	30,3	....	....	1.352,00	69,8	.....	.....	.....	....	1.000,00	39,8	
2.	75,00	36,7	30,00	30,7	.....	....	230,00	42,8	11,50	4,8	42,00	14,9	
3.	.....	....	....	....	206,00	65,1	.....	.....	.....	....	....	....	(36)
4.°	.....	....	....	....	2.722,00	100,0	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
5.	132,00	22,2	40,00	6,7	.....	....	270,00	45,7	.....	....	.....	....	(37)
6.	470,00	92,1	....	....	40,00	7,8	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
7.	307,00	38,3	71,50	25,6	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	300,00	36,1	
8.	252,00	95,5	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	12,00	4,5	.....	....	

Note: The peso sign ($) indicates the total monetary income, and % indicates the percentage of income from one activity in relation to the total income. /The commas in the figures should be read as points, and the points as commas, in the translation to English./

33. The deficit was compensated for by a loan of $600.00, which is equivalent to 12.3% of the total income.

34. Deficit compensated for by $60.00 saved in 1952, or 8.4% of the income.

35. Deficit compensated for by $300.00 saved in 1952, or 51.1% of the income.

36. Deficit compensated for by $250.00 saved in 1952, or 54.8% of the income.

37. Deficit compensated for by $150.00 saved in 1952, or 25.3% of the total income.

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SAN ANDRES

Fams.	Agriculture $	Agriculture %	Livestock $	Livestock %	Trade $	Trade %	Day Wages $	Day Wages %	Crafts $	Crafts %
1.*	3.120,00	58,7	1.460,00	27,5	500,00	9,4	.....	.....	.....	....	225,00	4,4
2.	48,00	54,2	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	40,50	45,7	.....	....
3.	132,00	70,5	....	....	.....	....	35,00	29,4	.....	....	.....	....
4.	22,20	28,5	....	....	.....	....	56,00	71,6	.....	....	.....	....
5.	309,00	62,2	....	....	.....	....	45,00	7,1	191,00	30,5	.....	....
6.	152,50	61,6	....	....	.....	....	95,00	38,3	.....	....	.....	....
7.	87,00	26,6	....	....	.....	....	240,00	73,3	.....	....	.....	....
8.	195,00	42,3	200,00	43,4	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	.... (38)
9.	350,00	72,6	120,00	27,2	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
10.*	2.000,00	89,2	....	....	200,00	10,7	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
11.	1.455,00	53,1	600,00	24,3	600,00	24,3	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
12.	170,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
13.	650,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
14.*	190,00	4,3	1.810,00	66,5	800,00	22,3	130,00	3,1	888,00	22,3	.....	....
15.*	379,00	14,4	....	....	100,00	3,8	.....	.....	2.143,30	81,7	.....	....

/The headings are obviously in error on this table./

38. Deficit compensated for by $65.00 saved in 1952, or 14.1% of the income.

In the statistical table of expenses, the first thing that we observe in the three parcialidades is the small amount of money spent under the headings "Drugs," "Medical Service," "Taxes," and "Education."

The protection of the health of adults and children is fundamental among the Páez. Child mortality has a high percentage, and parasitosis, diarrhea, and tuberculosis are almost endemic. But in Páez culture the care of the té eu (good curer) and the nasa jihi (sorcerer), the former protects people from illness and from the curses of the latter; the sorcerer with his magic powers can take people's lives. On the other hand, the té eu openly condemn the use of the drugs and the medical service of the "whites." These two institutions still enjoy great power and basically govern almost all of the institutional life of the Páez. In Mosoco seven heads of families spent small sums of money for the purchase of drugs. /The following table and illustrations appear between p. 360 and p. 361 in the original text./

[text continues on p. 108]

/362 cont./

511 The articles of clothing most in demand are trousers, shirts,
438 hats, underwear, rebozos, and sashes (Mosoco), large shawls
439 /pañolones/ (Lame and San Andrés), and smocks for the children.
[301] Ponchos are also purchased with some frequency. In Mosoco,
[223] gold earrings are ornaments appreciated by the women, in contrast to other parcialidades where gold is /363/ regarded as taboo. The natives wear no sandals or shoes. It should also be noted that the women's skirts are not purchased, but made at home; while in Mosoco the purchase of the reboso de Castilla /Spanish shawl/ is quite frequent and a sign of elegance, in the other parcialidades
511 they buy pañolones. If we compare the figures for food and clothing, the percentage of the income devoted to the former in Mosoco, with two exceptions, is higher than that devoted to clothing. In Lame, and especially in San Andrés, the percentages for food and clothing tend to be the same, and often the latter is higher than the former. The phenomenon is not strange if we bear in mind that in these two parcialidades cultivation is more for internal consumption than for sale. As for "Amusements," although various expenses have been included among them, they refer basically to expenses for the fancy for alcoholic and fermented beverages. Naturally, the expenses are necessarily higher, as we shall see later. As for lighting, in spite of the fact that in San Andrés and Lame it is made out of wild laurel wax, stearic candles are also purchased, and in Mosoco they are always
511 purchased. Soap is purchased by all the natives. In the column
454 showing the part for savings we note that only six of the 48 families
● [434] investigated have no figures for it.* And in order to make a few deductions, we have made an analysis of the incomes of the 48 families studied:

*[See p. 93 for this table -- Analyst]

/363 cont./

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Parcialidad	Less than $100.00	From $100.00 to $500.00	From $500.00 to $1,000.00	From $1,000.00 to $2,000.00	From $2,000.00 to $5,000.00	More than $5,000.00
Mosoco	-	2	12	9	1	1
Lame	-	4	2	-	2	-
San Andrés	2	6	2	-	4	1
Totals	2	12	16	9	7	2

We thus observe that 28 of the 48 families studied, or 78.3%, have incomes of less than 1,000 pesos, with which savings [426] [691] practically cannot exist. Even with regard to the Mosoco family identified by the number 18, which in the Savings column has the amount of $1,034.24 1/ we were able to verify that this amount /364/ was strictly nominal and that the head of the family had resorted to the Caja Agraria to ask for a loan of $500.00 to make improvements on his finca, a loan which he indeed obtained; through indirect information we were able to ascertain that the amount given as savings was possibly spent on the expenses of a [563] lawsuit for land which a brother-in-law was prosecuting. The savings of the "white" families are true and also those of some few native families, but in general terms what we would calculate as savings can be assigned to the "Amusements" column; the natives live from day to day. The impulse to save does not exist or is minimal. We had the opportunity to verify that there is no prudence with regard to expenses when considerable sums are received, such as, for example, those that come from the sale of coffee. The modest savings of the natives go up in smoke

1/ [column actually reads $1033.24, see p. 93-Au.]

/364 cont./

511 in the cantinas, in lawsuits over land, or for religious fiestas.
434 These arguments are confirmed, on the other hand, by the
454 statistical table on income in that only five native families in the three parcialidades made up the deficits in their budgets of last year with sums saved in 1952.

Economy and acculturation

121 Before closing the present work we wish to describe in
177 broad outline the process of acculturation which is now going on in some Páez parcialidades.

[101] The material on Páez culture which we have published and that which we are now elaborating on were collected in the parcialidades located on the right bank of the Paez River, leaving aside those located on the left bank of this river, owing above all to factors of public order which have been disturbing their peace for several years.

[178] The native communities of San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Calderas, Avirama, Suin, Chinas, Lame, Vitoncó, Huila, Toez, and Tálaga are more traditionalistic, live in accordance with the institutions of the culture, and for this reason we regard them as more "primitive." On the other hand, the community of Mosoco, suspended on the slopes of the Central Cordillera itself and extending into the very heart of the Paramo de Moras, is fully in the process of transformation.

[648] /365/ Our research was begun in the parcialidad of Calderas,
[101] isolated, by reasons of a geographical nature, from the principal centers of the "white" population and whose inhabitants have defended their independence at all costs and have been hostile to living with the "whites" (39). From here comes the greater part

39. Bernal Villa, S. "Mitología y cuentos de la parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and tales from the parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," pp. 289 ff.

[101] of our materials. But we also carried out systematic investigations in San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Lame, Vitoncó, Tálaga, and, lastly, in Mosoco.